

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 00547 150948Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5285
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 547

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (EO TAGS & SUBJECT ADDED)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, YO
SUBJECT: END OF TOUR IMPRESSIONS

AS I LEAVE ZAGREB AFTER THREE AND A HALF YEARS,II WOULD SUM-
MARIZE MY CURRENT OVERALL IMPRESSIONS AS FOLLOWS:

1. U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. THEY ARE
REFLECTED IN OUR CURRENT DEALINGS WITH CROATIAN AND SLOVENIAN
GOVERNMENT, PARTY, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FIGURES. THEY STEM
FROM THE PROGRESS THE U.S. IS MAKING IN ESTABLISHING WHAT
AMBASSADOR EAGLEBURGER LIKES TO CALL "A WEB OF RELATIONSHIPS"
WITH YUGOSLAVIABM

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-- IN THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS, WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED GENUINE
OPTIMISM ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR BILATERAL TRADE TO GO
FAR BEYOND EXPECTATIONS EXPRESSED JUST A FEW YEARS AGO
AND TO EXCEED A BILLION DOLLARS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW YEARS.
THE RECENT U.S.-YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC COUNCIL MEETING IN
DUBROVNIK, TOPPED OFF BY THE VISIT OF CHAIRMAN OF THE
EXIMBANK JOHN MOORE, HAVE GIVEN REAL IMPETUS TO MORE

TRADE--SO WE IN ZAGREB JUDGE FROM WHAT WE HAVE HEARD AND SEEN IN LJUBLJANA AND ZAGREB.

2. WHILE MORE LIBERAL, PRAGMATIC, AND WESTERN-ORIENTED ELEMENTS APPEAR TO BE GAINING IN ASCENDANCY AT PRESENT, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE SENSITIVE TO THE CONTINUING EXISTENCE OF OTHER ELEMENTS HERE WHO ARE MORE DOCTRINAIRE AND WHO DISAPPROVE OF LIBERALIZING TENDENCIES. ALTHOUGH SUCH PROMINENT PEOPLE IN CROATIA LIKE BALTIC, BILIC, SUVAR, RACAN (AND EVEN BAKARIC, WHO IS A VERY COMPLICATED PERSONALITY AND WHO HAD OPPOSED THE DOW-INA JOINT VENTURE PROJECT), ARE NOT ALLIED IN A GROUP AS SUCH, THEY ARE SKEPTICAL AND RESERVED ABOUT CURRENTLY DEVELOPING PATTERNS.

3. IT IS INEVITABLE THAT THESE TWO TENDENCIES--THE MORE LIBERAL VS. THE MORE DOCTRINAIRE--WILL CONTINUE TO COMPETE AS THEY HAVE OVER THE LAST 25 YEARS. POWER HAS OSCILLATED BETWEEN THE TWO. THIS PATTERN WILL CONTINUE, AND IT IS REASONABLE TO ANTICIPATE SHARP CONFRONTATIONS IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE PAST.

4. ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN IN A STATE OF SUSPENDED POLITICAL ANIMATION OUT OF FEAR OF AROUSING TITO'S SUSPICIONS OR ANGER, IN HIS TWILIGHT BUT STILL POWERFUL YEARS, THERE ARE BITTER PERSONAL RIVALRIES AMONG POLITICALLY AMBITIOUS YUGOSLAVS WHO CAN BE EXPECTED TO TRY TO EXPLOIT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE. A LOOMING EVENT WHICH MAY TRIGGER IMPOR-

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TANT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IS THE PROBABLE DEATH SOON OF KARDELJ. (I HAVE HEARD IN THE PAST 24 HOURS THAT KARDELJ MAY NOT LIVE LONG ENOUGH TO ATTEND THE FORTHCOMING LCY CONGRESS AT THE END OF THIS MONTH. HIS SUCCESSOR AS SLOVENIA'S REPRESENTATIVE TO THE PRESIDENCY WILL PROBABLY BE EITHER KRAJGER OR LCS PRESIDENT POPIT.)

5. REAL POWER HAS DEVOLVED UPON YUGOSLAVIA'S REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS REGIONS. THIS WILL MAKE IT MOST DIFFICULT FOR A SINGLE PERSON TO INHERIT IN THE NEAR FUTURE THE POWER HELD BY TITO. THIS DOES NOT MEAN SOMEONE WON'T TRY. FROM OUR PERCEPTION OF THE LOCAL SCENE IN CROATIA AND IN SLOVENIA, WE WOULD EXPECT EVOLUTIONARY AND MODERATING CHANGES TO CONTINUE, UNLESS UNANTICIPATED FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS OR UNUSUAL INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS MATERIALIZE. THERE WILL BE RESISTANCE FROM PARTY ACTIVISTS WHO FEAR THEIR LOSS OF POWER; BUT THEY WILL BE OPPOSED BY THE GROWING AND INCREASINGLY POWERFUL "MIDDLE CLASS" COMPOSED OF THE ECONOMIC EXECUTIVES.

6. WE HAVE SELDOM HAD A BETTER CLIMATE TO PROMOTE OUR OWN INTERESTS AND IDEAS IN YUGOSLAVIA THAN AT THE PRESENT TIME.
KAISER

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